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Security Council

Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3400th Meeting
Friday, 1 July 1994, 4.30 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Marker	(Pakistan)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cardenas
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	New Zealand	Mr. Van Bohemen
	Nigeria	Mr. Gambari
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Vorontsov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bizimana
	Spain	Mr. Yáñez-Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay
	United States of America	Mr. Gnehm

Agenda

The situation concerning Rwanda

Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Rwanda (S/1994/640)

94-85947 (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 4.35 p.m.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

The President: As this is the first meeting of the Security Council for the month of July, I should like to take this opportunity to pay tribute on behalf of the Council to His Excellency Mr. Salim Bin Mohammed Al-Khussaiby, Permanent Representative of Oman to the United Nations, for his service as President of the Security Council for the month of June 1994. I am sure that I speak for all members of the Security Council in expressing our deep appreciation to Ambassador Al-Khussaiby for the great diplomatic skill and unfailing courtesy with which he conducted the Council's business last month.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning Rwanda

Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Rwanda (S/1994/640)

The President: The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Rwanda, contained in document S/1994/640. Members of the Council also have before them document S/1994/775 in its provisional form, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Argentina, the Czech Republic, France, New Zealand, Spain, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America. I should like to announce that the Russian Federation has joined as a sponsor of the draft resolution.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo (Spain) *(interpretation from Spanish):* I wish first, Sir, to express my delegation's satisfaction at seeing you presiding over our work. Your experience, wisdom and professionalism guarantee the Council excellent guidance throughout the month of July.

I wish also to convey, through you and through the delegation of Oman, our thanks to Ambassador Al-Khussaiby for his work throughout June, which was particularly busy owing to the many items before the Council.

On 6 April 1994, following the crash of the aeroplane carrying the Presidents of Burundi and Rwanda, which caused the death of both men in circumstances that have yet to be clarified, an orgy of violence was unleashed in Rwanda, which has shaken the conscience of the entire world. The Security Council has already condemned these acts and has adopted a number of decisions aimed at dealing with the various manifestations and aspects of the terrible crisis afflicting Rwanda.

The presidential statement of 30 April (S/PRST/1994/21) *inter alia* condemned the violations of international humanitarian law committed in Rwanda and recalled that genocide is a crime punishable under international law. Resolution 918 (1994) of 17 May authorized the expansion of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), and resolution 925 (1994) of 8 June established the terms for the expanded UNAMIR. In addition, a multinational force with humanitarian objectives was authorized in Rwanda by resolution 929 (1994) of 22 June.

I should also like to note that one of the first acts of Ambassador Ayala Lasso, the High Commissioner for Human Rights, in the exercise of his functions was personally to visit Rwanda. My delegation would like once again to praise his efforts in denouncing the serious human rights violations there and in calling this grave situation to the attention of the international community. Thanks to him, the United Nations Human Rights Commission appointed a Special Rapporteur for Rwanda, who has just issued a provisional report on his work.

The Secretary-General's report of 31 May corroborated the information which members of the Security Council had been receiving through various channels and credible sources on the massacres and killings in Rwanda, indicating that these were being carried out systematically and were being directed first

and foremost against communities and families belonging to a specific ethnic group. The report of the Secretary-General stresses the genocidal nature of these killings. In accordance with the Secretary-General's estimates, it is calculated that in recent weeks between 250,000 and 500,000 persons have been murdered out of a total population of 7 million. As the Secretary-General pointed out, this is in proportional terms equivalent to a figure of between 9 million and 18 million for the total population of the United States.

Information from all sources shows that the killing is continuing in Rwanda. This is indicated in the report of the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights, Mr. Degni Segui, issued on 28 June. This report corroborates the extent and abominable nature of the killings. According to the Special Rapporteur, there can be no doubt that genocide is being committed in Rwanda.

Faced with this situation, the international community cannot remain passive, particularly given the specific terms of the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, a crime which, because of its particularly serious nature, is termed a crime against humanity. One objective of the draft resolution which my country, together with seven other co-sponsors, is submitting for the consideration of the Security Council is the establishment of an impartial Commission of Experts to examine and analyse all the available information on the serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in Rwanda since the beginning of the current conflict. Indeed, as the Secretary-General points out in his report, only a proper investigation can establish the facts in order to determine responsibility.

Spain promoted this initiative, together with other Council members, because it feels that the Security Council should react to the grave violations of international humanitarian law, including acts of genocide, being perpetrated with total impunity in Rwanda, by determining the facts and bringing those responsible for such crimes against humanity to justice. This objective was reaffirmed by the European Union at its meeting of Heads of State and Government in Corfu on 24 and 25 June, at which the European Council expressed its horror at the genocide in Rwanda and stated that those responsible should be brought to justice.

At the same time, it is extremely important that the efforts of the Secretary-General and of his Special Representative continue and be intensified, together with those of the Organization of African Unity and the countries of the region, to promote a cease-fire and political dialogue as well as to speed up the deployment of the expanded UNAMIR. The establishment of a Commission of Experts, as we have proposed, will contribute to clarifying the facts with respect to the killings in Rwanda and to the carrying out of justice, and will also, we are certain, make it possible to facilitate a political settlement by focusing responsibility on specific persons rather than on ethnic, social or political groups. This will allow the people of Rwanda to recover their faith and hope for a better future, free of the demons of the recent past.

My delegation pays tribute to the Secretary-General for his frankness in denouncing the inadequacy of the international community in the face of the agony of Rwanda and for his condemnation of the genocide which has been carried out in that country. We trust that today's resolution will make it possible to demonstrate that his efforts have not been in vain.

The President: I thank the representative of Spain for the kind words he addressed to my predecessor and to me.

Mr. Gnehm (United States of America): It is a special honour to me to be among the first to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council. Knowing that you will bring to bear upon our full and ever-growing agenda the wisdom of experience and your wide-ranging diplomatic skills, I am confident that we are in good hands for the month of July. I should also like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude for the dedicated and adept way in which your predecessor, Ambassador Al-Khussaiby, guided us through our intense work during the month of June.

By its action here today, the Council takes another important step towards bringing to justice those responsible for the horrible acts of slaughter and destruction committed in Rwanda. Since 6 April, over 200,000 people have been hunted down and killed in politically motivated ethnic violence and genocide. Hundreds of thousands more have been forced to flee to neighbouring countries. As the Council recognizes by passage of this draft resolution today, the international community demands that those who have committed these atrocities be held accountable.

As Secretary of State Christopher told the United States Senate only yesterday,

"It is clear that there is genocide. There are acts of genocide in Rwanda, and they ought to be pursued".

This resolution continues the process begun by the appointment of a Special Rapporteur for Rwanda by the Commission on Human Rights. Thus, we acknowledge here that implementation of human rights standards must be an integral part of every United Nations action taken on Rwanda. We call upon the Secretary-General to ensure that the work of the Special Rapporteur is taken into account by the Commission of Experts. The Commission of Experts must build upon the work of the Special Rapporteur and work with him to carry out its mandate without duplicating his efforts. The role of the High Commissioner for Human Rights as coordinator of human rights activity throughout the United Nations system is, of course, vital in this regard.

It is critical as well that all organs of the United Nations system, all Member States and all other parties cooperate fully and closely with the Commission. Members and expert staff of the Commission will need access to evidence and to sites where atrocities occurred, and they must be permitted, as the draft resolution urges, to gain that access. The Commission also will need adequate funding to be able to accomplish its duties. We strongly encourage Member States voluntarily to provide the necessary funds.

Our goal must be individual accountability and responsibility for grave violations of international humanitarian law in Rwanda. We must fix responsibility on those who have directed these acts of violence. In so doing, we can transform revenge into justice, affirm the rule of law and, hopefully, bring this horrible cycle of violence to a merciful close.

Finally, now that the Council has laid the groundwork for confronting the humanitarian tragedy in Rwanda, it must be ready to respond as quickly as possible to the Commission's report. It is imperative that we avoid any unnecessary delay in bringing to justice those responsible for serious breaches of international humanitarian law.

Mr. Kovanda (Czech Republic): Mr. President, allow me to join those who spoke before me in congratulating you on assuming the presidency of the Council for July. I consider it a personal honour and pleasure to be able to thank you, because you have been particularly generous in the friendship you have extended to me.

I would be greatly remiss if I did not take this opportunity also to thank and congratulate Ambassador Al-Khussaiby for the work he did in June. Indeed, it appears that the tempo of our work had increased to a remarkable degree.

On previous occasions the Czech delegation fully and, we hope, eloquently enough presented its evaluation of what has been going on in Rwanda. In his report of 31 May 1994, the Secretary-General corroborated various reports that had been reaching us over the previous week from a number of sources on the extent and the depth of the horror that is Rwanda.

We note that it is not all that frequent that one report of the Secretary-General should require two separate resolutions by the Security Council. The fact that the 31 May report is today leading us to seek a second report goes to show the truly exceptional nature of the events in that country.

As for the basic humanitarian, political and military framework, let me recapitulate that my delegation has denounced in the harshest terms possible the continuing genocide in Rwanda. We appeal for an immediate cessation of the murdering of the civilian population, for an end to the uncontrolled marauding of bandits, and for an end to the incendiary broadcasts of Radio Mille Collines.

We also appeal to both sides in the civil war to cease fire, to agree to a truce and to embark on negotiations concerning the future of the country, taking the Arusha Agreement as a basis. Most recently, we welcomed the multinational force organized by France and we are encouraged by news reports about its activities.

We believe that the conflict in Rwanda has led to massive and systematic violations of a whole series of international agreements and conventions - including, to name but a few, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, the Convention on the Rights of the Child - and, it goes almost without saying, of international humanitarian law.

Let me also add that we feel that the provisions of the Convention on the Non-Applicability of Statutory

Limitations to War Crimes and Crimes against Humanity may well be applicable to circumstances in Rwanda. And as my delegation has indicated earlier, we demand that all persons who committed, who abetted or who instigated such crimes be brought to justice. Our interest in ensuring an impartial, just and objective investigation of these crimes and the identification of their perpetrators has led us to take an active part in preparing and sponsoring the draft resolution under discussion today.

We feel this to be a fitting conclusion to one phase of our work concerning Rwanda. As a Council we will, of course, not stop carefully monitoring the situation. We will be especially looking forward to news about the establishment of the Commission of Experts as called for in the draft resolution and, upon the completion of its work, to the Secretary-General's recommendations for further appropriate steps.

The President: I thank the representative of the Czech Republic for the kind words addressed to my predecessor and to me.

Mr. Mérimée (France) *(interpretation from French):* Mr. President, my delegation wishes to associate itself wholeheartedly with the compliments extended to the Ambassador of Oman for the outstanding way in which he conducted the proceedings of the Council last month. My delegation is also very pleased - and this is not a mere courtesy formula - to see you, Sir, presiding over the Security Council this month.

For more than two months, systematic violations of human rights and, indeed, genocide, have been committed in Rwanda. These acts arouse the indignation of the entire world, and it would be intolerable if those who have committed them remained unpunished. That is why France has sponsored the draft resolution on which we are about to vote and which would decide to establish a Commission of Experts to investigate human rights violations in Rwanda. This should make it possible to identify those responsible for these crimes so that the Council can then decide, on the basis of the Secretary-General's recommendations, under which jurisdiction they can be dealt with.

My delegation is gratified by the activities conducted by the High Commissioner for Human Rights, as well as by the Special Rapporteur designated by the Commission on Human Rights in respect of Rwanda. We consider it indispensable that their work and that of the Commission of Experts be carried out in close cooperation.

My delegation appeals to States and international humanitarian organizations to provide all the evidence and the information they have in their possession. France, for its part, pledges to communicate to the Commission of Experts all the information that it may be able to gather, especially in the course of the operation it is now conducting in Rwanda with the authorization of the Security Council.

The priority in Rwanda now is to put an end to the human rights violations and to the massacres. It is for this sole objective that France has intervened within the framework of "Operation Turquoise", with a United Nations mandate, in order to ensure continuity while awaiting the deployment of the expanded United Nations Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), which my delegation hopes will occur as soon as possible.

Before concluding, I should like to emphasize the special responsibility of the media that incite ethnic hatred and violence. France urges those in charge of the radio stations concerned, and primarily Radio Mille Collines, to put an end to this criminal propaganda. France will do all in its power to ensure the cessation of these broadcasts.

The President: I thank the representative of France for his very kind words addressed to my predecessor and to me.

I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/775, in its provisional form.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 935 (1994).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. van Bohemen (New Zealand): On behalf of the New Zealand delegation, I wish first to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your assumption of the presidency. We know from experience the wisdom and judgement you bring to the position. We also congratulate Ambassador Al-Khussaiby of Oman for the wise manner in which he conducted the Council's business last month.

The international community has been horrified at the orgy of killing and brutality that has engulfed Rwanda since the plane crash that took the lives of the Presidents of Rwanda and Burundi on 6 April 1994. Quite properly, the immediate concern has been to try to stop the fighting and the killings and to bring relief to the persons still alive in the country.

Though the international response has been too slow, action is now under way to alleviate the situation of Rwandans who have fled the country and of those who are still in the country and can be reached. Clearly, we must continue to give top priority to these immediate tasks.

But for Rwanda eventually to achieve a lasting peace and national reconciliation, we must also begin to consider the longer term. The adoption of this resolution today should be seen in that context.

There is one central purpose to this resolution: to provide a means for establishing the facts of the genocide and the other outrages that were unleashed following the events of 6 April. Once those facts have been established, then appropriate steps can be taken to determine how persons responsible for such acts, particularly the persons responsible for their planning and organization, can be brought to justice.

Genocide and other grave breaches of humanitarian law are international crimes which are subject to universal jurisdiction. Persons suspected of having committed such crimes during the Second World War were put on trial. Much more recently, the Security Council took steps to ensure that persons suspected of committing war crimes in the former Yugoslavia can be brought to justice. We can be no less concerned about the commission of such offences in Rwanda.

Right now, the need is to ensure that information on the killings is collected and organized so that there is at least a basis upon which subsequent prosecutions, whether undertaken internationally or through the Rwandan legal system, can proceed. As the Secretary-General notes in his report of 31 May (S/1994/640), this must begin soon if the process is to be effective.

The aim of the resolution is not retribution but justice. Moreover, the divisions in Rwanda, be they ethnically or politically based, will only fester and become more poisonous if the events of the past months and the causes from which they sprang are not adequately addressed. The process of investigation may itself help the Rwandan people to come to terms with what has gone on in their midst.

It is not intended that the Commission of Experts should duplicate or cut across the work being carried out by the High Commissioner for Human Rights or the Special Rapporteur appointed pursuant to the resolution of the Commission on Human Rights of 25 May. We see the tasks to be pursued by the High Commissioner and the Special Rapporteur on the one hand, and the Commission of Experts on the other, as being quite distinct.

The Commission's task will be to collect evidence of specific acts of genocide so that at some point determinations of individual responsibility for past acts can be made. By contrast, the focus of the Special Rapporteur is forward-looking, to determine how and why such abuses came to be committed, to make recommendations for bringing such abuses to an end and to help prevent future recurrences.

In some cases, the Commission and Special Rapporteur will need access to the same information. This is why the resolution requests that the Secretary-General and the High Commissioner make available to the Commission information submitted to the Special Rapporteur, and ensure that there is appropriate cooperation and coordination between the Commission and the Special Rapporteur.

The mechanism we are providing for today is a small step. Some may complain that it is too modest for the task at hand. But it is a beginning and that is important. It demonstrates that the international community accepts its responsibility to uphold the laws proscribing genocide and that it has the will to help the Rwandan people come to terms with what has happened in their country.

The President: I thank the representative of New Zealand for the kind words addressed to my predecessor and to me.

Mr. Li Zhaoxing (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): Please allow me to join my colleagues in the Council in warmly congratulating you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency for this month. The Chinese delegation will fully cooperate with you. I am confident that with your wisdom, talents and rich diplomatic experience, you will surely guide the work of the Council this month to success. I should also like to take this opportunity to thank your predecessor, Ambassador Al-Khussaiby of Oman, for his outstanding contribution to the successful work of the Council last month.

Since the outbreak of the crisis in Rwanda, the international community, and especially the Organization of African Unity and the neighbouring countries of Rwanda, have made valuable efforts for an early restoration of peace in Rwanda. Regrettably, the situation there still defies these efforts. The civil war continues to plunge the people of Rwanda into an abyss of misery, causing an exodus of refugees into the neighbouring States. Furthermore, the humanitarian situation in Rwanda continues to deteriorate. The Chinese delegation is deeply concerned with these developments and has profound sympathy for the Rwandese people.

The Chinese delegation is of the view that the only effective solution to the crisis in Rwanda is for the two parties to the conflict to implement the relevant Security Council resolutions and the agreement reached between them, and implement forthwith the cease-fire and replace confrontation with dialogue, thus realizing national reconciliation through political negotiations within the framework of the Arusha Peace Agreement. Only by so doing can peace in Rwanda be truly restored and the sanctity of life and property of the Rwandese people be guaranteed, thus enabling the Rwandese people to enjoy once again peace and stability at an early date.

The Chinese delegation voted in favour of the resolution that has just been adopted. However, I wish to take this opportunity to place on record the following two points. First, the Chinese delegation has always maintained that the various organs of the United Nations should perform their functions in accordance with the mandates given them by the Charter. We are concerned with the increasing involvement of the Security Council in matters that are by nature within the purview of other organs. In our view, the Security Council should act as directed by the Charter and focus its efforts on its already heavy and important task of maintaining international peace and security as mandated by the Charter. Based on this position, the Chinese delegation has reservations on those elements in the resolution concerning the High Commissioner for Human Rights and the Special Rapporteur.

Secondly, the Chinese delegation holds that the establishment of the Commission of Experts as authorized by the resolution is an exceptional action adopted in line with the special situation in Rwanda and, therefore, should not be considered as a precedent.

The President: I thank the representative of China for his kind words addressed to my predecessor and to me.

Sir David Hannay (United Kingdom): I should like to begin by congratulating you, Sir, on assuming office as President of the Council for the second time. I have happy memories of the first occasion and we look forward to working with you very closely. I should also like to thank your predecessor, the Ambassador of Oman, for the unfailingly courteous and firm way in which he chaired the Council during the last month.

The whole world has been appalled by the massacres and killings in Rwanda. Those who have committed the atrocities must now be brought to justice. We owe no less to the hundreds of thousands of victims of this tragedy. No one should believe that such acts can be committed with impunity.

My Government therefore strongly supports the establishment of the Commission of Experts, and has been pleased to co-sponsor the resolution just adopted. It is our hope and expectation that States and all others concerned will cooperate fully with the Commission in its difficult task. We look forward to receiving its report at an early date so that consideration may be given to what further action would be appropriate.

We welcome the emphasis in the resolution on the need for close cooperation between the Commission of Experts, the Special Rapporteur for Rwanda appointed by the Human Rights Commission and the High Commissioner for Human Rights. We have now received the report on human rights in Rwanda submitted by the Special Rapporteur. Mr. Segui makes a clear case that events in Rwanda constitute genocide. The report also raises very serious questions about the complicity of persons and of governmental authorities.

In this regard the continued activities of Radio Mille Collines are quite unacceptable. It is intolerable that a

radio station in an area under the control of the "interim government" of Rwanda should be permitted to incite persons to commit violations of humanitarian law and attacks on United Nations personnel. The United Nations has demanded that such broadcasts cease immediately, and the members of this Council have demanded that the representative of Rwanda make known to the "interim government" authorities their strongest concerns. If these authorities have any care at all for their international reputation and standing, they will ensure that these broadcasts cease forthwith.

This resolution sends a clear message to those responsible for grave violations of international humanitarian law, or acts of genocide, that they will be held individually responsible for those acts. The international community is determined that they be brought to justice; it is our duty to ensure that that is done.

The President: I thank the representative of the United Kingdom for the very kind words he addressed to my predecessor and to me.

Mr. Cárdenas (Argentina) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: First, my delegation takes this opportunity to welcome you, Mr. President. We are familiar with your prudence and your other talents, and we have confidence in your leadership. We assure you that we are ready to cooperate with you in your work during the month of July.

I wish also to thank my friend Ambassador Salim Bin Mohammed Al-Khussaiby and the entire delegation of Oman for the work that was done in June, which was as effective as it was tenacious.

Finally, I should like to express my gratitude to the Ambassador of Spain, who took the leadership role in the present resolution, of which Argentina was a sponsor.

The humanitarian crisis being experienced by Rwanda as a result of the violence that exploded there has clearly tragic dimensions. Thus can be seen in the massacres that have aroused horror the world over and have left in their wake about a million and a half displaced persons and some 400,000 refugees in the bordering countries. I would point out that this represents more than one quarter of the total population of the country. This veritable disaster is a kind of barometer alerting us to the fact that there can be no doubt whatsoever that something extremely grave has occurred in Rwanda that has obliged such a large part of the population to face death or to leave their homes and abandon their country.

In fact, what has happened has been the massacre of whole families and communities belonging to a certain ethnic group. This is confirmation that atrocities have been committed in Rwanda that can be described as the crime of genocide.

In all logic, this Organization cannot remain indifferent to this situation. To that end, the Security Council has taken a series of measures designed to help alleviate the suffering of the Rwandan people. This most recent measure that we have just adopted focuses on the need to investigate the serious violations of international humanitarian law as well as possible acts of genocide committed during the conflict, with a view to making a determination of responsibility. This must be done in the name of justice.

In this context, and in accordance with the presidential statement of 30 April last, in which the first request for an investigation was made, the Security Council requests the Secretary-General to establish, as a matter of urgency, an impartial commission of experts to examine and analyse the facts to which I have referred.

We wish to emphasize that the urgency of this request is a response to the statement made by the Secretary-General in his report in document S/1994/640 that the effectiveness of an investigation diminishes with the passage of time, because the amount of evidence diminishes and witnesses disperse and the facts become blurred.

My delegation views this measure as responding to the need for the international community to reverse the trend apparent in this century of not reacting - for various reasons - promptly and effectively to the atrocities and massacres of the kind we are discussing today. As we have witnessed in many cases, these atrocities and massacres continue without any determination being made as to who committed them until it is too late.

In examining whether or not the massacres were committed intentionally, we must make particular reference to the very serious, indeed alarming, repeated broadcasts by Radio Mille Collines. This radio station, which is located in the zone under the control of the Rwandan Government, is, according to the Secretary-General's report, using its broadcasts to incite persons to eliminate the supporters of the Rwandese Patriotic Front. This information has been repeated orally by the Secretariat, which has also indicated that this campaign of incitement has now been extended to include the

United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), and particularly its Commander. In our view, this is extremely serious.

In this connection, we call for the cessation of these broadcasts once and for all; we must remind the parties that they are responsible for the security of UNAMIR.

The High Commissioner for Human Rights, Mr. José Ayala Lasso, has been alerted to this alarming situation in Rwanda, and, despite the danger and in fulfilment of his duty, he has visited the country and submitted a report to the Commission on Human Rights. In turn, that Commission appointed Mr. René Degni Segui Special Rapporteur for Rwanda. We take this occasion to commend both officials for their efforts in discharging their responsibilities in such difficult circumstances.

The concrete results of the investigations of the Special Rapporteur, which have just been circulated, will of course be particularly useful to the Commission of Experts, as will be the information that other individuals, bodies or organizations that are or have been in Rwanda can provide to the Commission.

With this common objective - that crimes of the magnitude of the one with which we are now dealing should not go unpunished - we must emphasize the importance and the necessity of coordination and cooperation between the Commission of Experts and the Special Rapporteur as they carry out their work.

All this, which must ensure that those responsible for these crimes shoulder their responsibilities, will contribute to ensuring not only that there will be a lasting solution to the conflict affecting Rwanda, but also that these events that have shocked the world will not be repeated in Rwanda or in any other part of the globe and that it will be made completely clear that the United Nations, in embarking on the present course, will not remain indifferent to such situations.

The President: I thank the representative of Argentina for the kind words he addressed to my predecessor and to me.

I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of Pakistan.

I should like to begin by placing on record my delegation's appreciation of the skill, the patience and the excellent manner in which His Excellency Mr. Salim Bin Mohammed Al-Khussaiby, the Permanent Representative of Oman, conducted the business of the Security Council last month.

Ever since the sad and untimely demise of the Presidents of Rwanda and Burundi in an air crash on 6 April 1994, and the ensuing violence that has engulfed Rwanda, the international community has on many occasions expressed its regrets and concern at the humanitarian tragedy unfolding in Rwanda. The Security Council alone has adopted a number of resolutions pertaining to Rwanda over the past 10 weeks.

Though a cease-fire and a dialogue between the Rwandese parties aimed at a peaceful resolution of the problem have received the attention which these two elements rightly deserve, by far of the gravest concern has been the systematic killings that have been carried out in that country and the massive humanitarian catastrophe that has been created as a result.

On 30 April 1994 the President of the Security Council recalled that persons who instigate or participate in acts of violence are held individually responsible. In the same statement, and then again in its resolution 918 (1994), the Security Council addressed requests to the Secretary-General relating to the investigation of serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in Rwanda during the present conflict. The Secretary-General himself, in his report of 31 May 1994, referred to the systematic massacres and killings continuing in Rwanda.

My Government welcomed the visit to Rwanda by the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, as well as the decision of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights to appoint a Special Rapporteur for Rwanda.

Thus, in my delegation's view, the resolution the Security Council has just adopted has come at a most opportune moment. Indeed, it represents a logical progression of the pronouncements so far made.

My delegation fully agrees that the issue of human rights should not be exploited to promote political ends. However, at the same time, we are opposed to the practice of using disingenuous and spurious arguments in order to avoid impartial scrutiny into gross and systematic violations of human rights wherever they may exist.

The enormity of the scale of human rights violations that have taken place in Rwanda since 6 April 1994 and their barbarity defy explanation. Our decision today to request the Secretary-General to establish an impartial Commission of Experts to examine the information pertaining to the grave violations of international humanitarian law in Rwanda is, therefore, absolutely correct morally, legally and politically. In our view, the resolution sets a necessary precedent and should send a warning signal to all those engaged in systematic violations of human rights and brutalization or suppression of people for whatever ostensible reason and on whatever pretext.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 5.25 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3401

Security Council

Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3401st Meeting

Friday, 8 July 1994, 4 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Marker	(Pakistan)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cardenas
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Rovensky
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	New Zealand	Mr. Van Bohemen
	Nigeria	Mr. Gambari
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Vorontsov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bizimana
	Spain	Mr. Martinez Salazar
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Wood
	United States of America	Mr. Gnehm

Agenda

Establishment of an international tribunal for the prosecution of persons responsible for serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia

Appointment of the Prosecutor

94-85970 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 4.25 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Establishment of an international tribunal for the prosecution of persons responsible for serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia

Appointment of the Prosecutor

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/1994/805, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to adopt the draft resolution before it without a vote. Unless I hear any objection, I shall take it that the draft resolution is adopted.

There being no objection, the draft resolution has been adopted as resolution 936 (1994).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 4.30 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3402

Security Council

Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3402nd Meeting
Monday, 11 July 1994, 10.30 a.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Marker	(Pakistan)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Di Tella
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Rovensky
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	France	Mr. Balladur
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Nigeria	Mr. Gambari
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Sidorov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bizimana
	Spain	Mr. Yáñez-Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall
	United States of America	Mrs. Albright

Agenda

The situation concerning Rwanda

94-85977 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 10.40 a.m.

The President: I request the Chief of Protocol to escort the distinguished Prime Minister of the French Republic to his place at the Council table.

His Excellency Mr. Edouard Balladur, Prime Minister of the French Republic, was escorted to his place at the Council table.

The President: On behalf of the Council, I extend a warm welcome to His Excellency Mr. Edouard Balladur, the distinguished Prime Minister of the French Republic, and to the distinguished Minister for Foreign Affairs, His Excellency Mr. Alain Juppé. On behalf of the Council, I also extend a warm welcome to the distinguished Minister for Foreign Affairs, International Trade and Worship of the Republic of Argentina, His Excellency Mr. Guido Di Tella.

Tribute to the memory of His Excellency Mr. Kim Il Sung, President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

The President: The members of the Security Council have learnt with sadness of the passing of His Excellency Mr. Kim Il Sung, President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. I wish to express, on behalf of the Council, profound condolences to the Government and the people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and to the bereaved family.

I now invite the members of the Council to stand and observe a minute of silence.

The members of the Council observed a minute of silence.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning Rwanda

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

The first speaker is the distinguished Prime Minister of the French Republic, His Excellency Mr. Edouard Balladur. I invite His Excellency to make his statement.

Mr. Balladur (France) (*interpretation from French*): I have come to New York today to address the United Nations Security Council because France is engaged in an important and difficult humanitarian operation in Rwanda, pursuant to a Security Council resolution. Under the circumstances, it seemed essential to come before the highest body of the United Nations in order to recall all that France expects from this great institution and the constant efforts my country has made to expand its action for the common good of mankind and make it more efficient. I also wanted to inform you as precisely as possible on the conditions in which the humanitarian operation is being carried out in Rwanda by my country along with a few other States. I should like, as well, to draw certain conclusions from this intolerable tragedy, which for a time seemed to leave the international community without a reaction. Today, the international community as a whole must mobilize for a cause that concerns us all.

France has always wanted the international community to be better organized and to possess the necessary resources to command respect for the principles from which the community takes its inspiration: equality of rights and obligations of States, respect for their sovereignty, respect for human rights and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

France's leading jurists made a fundamental contribution to the founding of the League of Nations and the United Nations. My country has always wanted these international organizations to possess the necessary means, including military means, to enable the rule of law to prevail. To organize international life around a few principles and seek to introduce a state of law into an international community which, despite appearances, still remains so diverse and unequal requires that firm political resolve be demonstrated by the States comprising that community, particularly those to which the Charter has entrusted special responsibilities. I should like to say here today that as a permanent member of the Security Council France intends to abide, in its words and its actions, by its unfailing commitment to a more orderly and more interdependent global community.

Our concerted efforts were long limited by the uncompromising ambition of some countries and by the division of the world into two blocs. For the past four years, the international community has been at a turning-

point in its history. For the first time, the United Nations is in a position to act when world peace and stability are threatened or when civilian populations are affected by war. The recent period has certainly demonstrated the limits of this ability to act, which result from the fact that the United Nations cannot take the place of States or parties to a conflict that themselves lack the necessary political resolve. But, to take just a few examples, no one can deny the role our Organization has played in restoring peace in Cambodia and El Salvador or in saving so many human lives in Somalia and Bosnia.

No one could fail to recognize the progress our Organization has made in helping to resolve humanitarian crises in which a restrictive interpretation of the principles of the Charter and, above all, political obstacles did not permit it to intervene. Here again, France made a major contribution to a change that now makes it possible - with due respect for the essential principle of the sovereignty of States - to respond to humanitarian crises that represent a clear threat to peace.

France believes in the United Nations and in its mission. It has demonstrated that belief here in the Security Council by taking many initiatives - I am thinking particularly of the situations in Bosnia and Cambodia. It has also demonstrated that belief in the various theatres of intervention where 7,000 French soldiers are serving under the United Nations flag, and where French forces are the largest or second-largest contingent, depending on the year. The devotion and courage of those French troops attest to my country's commitment, along with the United Nations, to seeing the principles of the San Francisco Charter increasingly affirmed in international life.

It is in this spirit - which I wished to recall here today - that the French Government decided to react to the tragedy in Rwanda and appealed to the Security Council to authorize an emergency humanitarian intervention in that country, an intervention which was the only way of ending the massacres and the exodus of people on a scale never before seen on the continent of Africa.

Is it necessary to recall the circumstances that led to this decision? Hundreds of thousands of people dead, more than two million displaced and terrorized - an unprecedented humanitarian disaster that could destabilize the entire Great Lakes region. Was the entire international community to watch helplessly as such a tragedy unfolded? France did not think so and believed it had a moral duty to act without delay to stop the genocide and provide immediate assistance to the threatened populations.

It resolved to intervene before it was too late for reinforcements of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) to be deployed in Rwanda. Everyone could see that, without swift action, the survival of an entire country was at stake and the stability of a region seriously compromised. France is grateful to the Security Council for having supported its assessment of the situation and thanks it for adopting resolution 929 (1994). My Government would also like to thank the Secretary-General for all his efforts in the exercise of his functions to enable this humanitarian operation to be mounted.

Should we have refrained from taking action, since no economic or strategic interest appeared to warrant such intervention, thereby justifying those who criticize the international community for acting only when powerful interests are at issue? France and the Security Council, which supported its initiative, rejected the path of resignation. The same was true for our partners in the Western European Union and for the very many African countries which expressed support for the French Government's action.

My Government set out very clear principles for its action. I specified what they were in the French National Assembly on 22 June 1994. The operation had to be placed under the mandate of the Security Council and to have a strictly humanitarian purpose. It had to be undertaken together with other partners and, lastly, its duration had to be limited to the end of July.

What progress can be reported on France's operation in the three weeks since the adoption of resolution 929 (1994)? Its humanitarian goal has been largely attained. Almost a million refugees are now gathered under the protection of French and Senegalese forces in an area where, for the most part, the massacres have been stopped and refugees are safe. That, at least, is the situation as it stands. Since the start of the operation, almost 1,300 people whose lives were directly threatened have been evacuated to safe areas, either by helicopter or by road in protected convoys. By the middle of this week, more than 400 tons of humanitarian aid will have been delivered. With regard to medical assistance, an emergency hospital is operating at Cyangugu in the south-west of the country.

These initial results in the strictly humanitarian domain assigned to the operation show that one key result has been achieved: the massacres have almost completely stopped in places where France is present,

and a large volume of humanitarian aid has been delivered. However, one can immediately see the vast extent of the needs, which are growing daily, especially with the increasing number of displaced persons. These needs exceed the capacity of France and the few countries working with it in this operation. Experts have estimated, for example, that about 500 tons of food per day are needed to meet the needs of the people in the humanitarian safe area alone.

At this point, the action of the entire international community should be pursued in three directions. That is what I am here to tell the Council. First, at the humanitarian level, in view of the flow of refugees into the humanitarian safe area set up in south-west Rwanda and the desperate situation of the country as a whole, only firm action by States, United Nations humanitarian agencies and non-governmental organizations can prevent hunger and sickness from following upon the massacres. Everyone also knows the needs of the large numbers of people that have taken refuge in the countries bordering on Rwanda. It is essential to move swiftly to respond to immediate needs. But we would be running the risk of allowing a serious zone of tension to persist in this region if the international community does not concern itself now with the return of hundreds of thousands of refugees and displaced persons.

Parallel with the humanitarian aid effort that France is fervently seeking, reinforcements for UNAMIR should be deployed as soon as possible. The French and Senegalese forces in Rwanda cannot of themselves take the place of an operation established by the Security Council. That is not their mission, nor is it the intention of the French Government, which indicated at the very start of Operation Turquoise that it intended to withdraw its troops at the end of July.

Only the presence of a sizeable United Nations force on Rwandan territory will make it possible to begin the country's recovery by promoting a return to stability and the expansion of humanitarian action. For this reason, my country is making an urgent appeal to the international community to do everything possible to enable the strengthened UNAMIR to be deployed quickly. Many countries have stated their willingness to make sizeable numbers of personnel available to UNAMIR. These would be sufficient for the task that has been assigned the force if they possess the requisite equipment and logistical support. It is urgent that the international community mobilize to provide this. The Secretary-General, whose support France has been able to count on, can rest assured that my Government will endorse his efforts to this end.

Finally, it is up to the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the States of the Great Lakes region to use their influence to bring about a stable political solution that will allow this divided and shattered country to find reconciliation, and, in the spirit of the Arusha Agreement, the social and political consensus without which nothing solid can be built in the future. I know what efforts the Secretary-General and his Special Representative are making to this end. The entire Security Council should continue to support them. The United Nations bodies with competence in the field of human rights should follow through on the procedures that have been started. France was a sponsor of Security Council resolution 935 (1994), which set up a Commission to inquire into the massacres in Rwanda. It will make available to this Commission all the information it has been able to gather. The perpetrators of the massacres will be held liable for their acts before the international community.

The fate of a people and a country depends on our ability to act to ensure that the peace-keeping mission of the United Nations is successfully carried out. That is the reason for my presence here today. France, which is linked to Africa by longstanding ties of friendship and solidarity, had to act to help a martyred people.

It is imperative now that its effort should be assumed by the international community as a whole. A few years ago, President Senghor spoke out in favour of a universal civilization. It is that civilization that must inspire our Organization and lead us to act to help a given country not on the basis of its size, its wealth or its culture, but quite simply because it is equal in law to all others and because it is in need. This is the case of Rwanda today - who could deny it? - a devastated country with a riven and uprooted population. If we can respond to its appeal to us for justice and solidarity, our international community will have taken a further step towards an international society in which the rule of law is respected - towards a more just society.

The President: The next speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs, International Trade and Worship of Argentina, His Excellency Mr. Guido Di Tella.

Mr. Di Tella (Argentina) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: I should like to congratulate you, Sir - and,

through you, Pakistan - on your exercise of the presidency of the Security Council this month. My country is united to yours by fruitful links of long standing.

I also wish to welcome most especially the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister of France, who are with us at this meeting. I also wish to extend my greetings to the Permanent Representatives of the countries that make up Security Council, countries with which Argentina has the honour of sharing the task of safeguarding international peace and security.

My delegation is grateful to Prime Minister Edouard Balladur for his presentation on the situation in Rwanda and in particular on the irreproachable humanitarian operation led by France in that country. The operation is being carried out in accordance with the norms of neutrality and impartiality earlier established by the Security Council in resolution 929 (1994) for a strictly humanitarian operation.

The Argentine Republic well understands France's motivations for making a determined attempt to ease the sufferings of the people of Rwanda. The humanitarian crisis that Rwanda has been undergoing for months now constitutes a truly unique situation that we have no hesitation in describing as one of the gravest situations this Council has had to deal with since the end of the cold war.

This is a unique and extremely grave situation which requires that urgent and exceptional measures be taken, given the extent of the atrocities that have taken place. The tragic situation in Rwanda demands that we strive to deploy the expanded United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) with the utmost speed and without further delay. This should be done in order to allow UNAMIR to carry out fully the mandate properly conferred upon it, with the consent of both the international community and the parties to the conflict.

My delegation takes this opportunity to express its appreciation to the States - both of the region and from outside the region - that are participating or have committed themselves to participating in that Mission.

In my delegation's opinion, there is an evident need to strengthen the mechanisms of the United Nations system of collective security so that in the future we can avoid the considerable operational difficulties that have thus far delayed the deployment of UNAMIR.

The Argentine Republic, for its part, is totally committed to that system of collective security. In accordance with the resources at its disposal, it contributes approximately 2,000 men to eight peace-keeping operations and a vessel to the sanctions-monitoring machinery imposed by the Council on a country in our hemisphere. In this regard, we attach special importance to the generous assumption by all Member States' of the responsibilities deriving from the Charter.

My delegation takes this opportunity once again to support unequivocally the decision taken by the Security Council in resolution 935 (1994), which provides for the establishment of a Commission of Experts to investigate the atrocities committed in Rwanda, which constitute grave violations of international humanitarian law and perhaps even genocide. This, however, is but a first a step along the road leading to the final determination of responsibilities. The Argentine Republic will continue to advocate that the process under way be promptly carried to completion. That is a commitment.

The international community cannot fail to respond to the atrocities suffered by the people of Rwanda or allow those acts to go unpunished.

At this difficult time for Rwanda, my delegation recalls that the road to pacification and reconstruction in that country should be bounded by the guidelines and principles earlier included in the Arusha Peace Agreement.

Finally, I should like to reiterate my gratitude to the Prime Minister of France for the information he has provided and for the much-appreciated efforts of his country, which, because they bring us closer to the restoration of peace in Rwanda, we particularly value.

Our two peoples in different parts of the world, joined by strong ties of friendship, together seek a common, lofty goal: the consolidation of peace in our world.

The President: I thank the Foreign Minister of Argentina for his kind words addressed to my country and to me.

I shall now suspend the meeting briefly so that I may escort the Prime Minister of the French Republic from the Council Chamber.

His Excellency Mr. Edouard Balladur, Prime Minister of the French Republic, was escorted from the Security Council Chamber.

The meeting was suspended at 11.05 a.m. and resumed at 11.10 a.m.

The President: There are no further speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 11.10 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.3403

Security Council

Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3403rd Meeting
Tuesday, 12 July 1994, 12.40 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Marker	(Pakistan)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cardenas
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Zhang Yan
	Czech Republic	Mr. Rovensky
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	France	Mr. Felix-Paganon
	New Zealand	Mr. Van Bohemen
	Nigeria	Mr. Ayewah
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Sidorov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bizimana
	Spain	Mr. Yáñez-Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall
	United States of America	Mrs. Albright

Agenda

The question concerning Haiti

94-86004 (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 12.50 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The question concerning Haiti

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council condemns the decision of the illegal de facto regime and the military leadership in Haiti to expel from the country the joint United Nations/Organization of American States International Civilian Mission (MICIVIH), whose work has the highest approbation of the Council and whose mandate was extended by the United Nations General Assembly on 8 July 1994 (A/RES/48/27 B).

"The Security Council considers this action a serious escalation in the defiant stance of Haiti's illegal de facto regime towards the international community.

"The Security Council condemns this attempt by the illegal de facto regime and the military authorities to avoid appropriate international scrutiny at a time of increasing indiscriminate violence against the civilian population in Haiti.

"The Security Council rejects this attempt by the illegal de facto regime and the military authorities to defy the will of the international community. This provocative behaviour directly affects the peace and security of the region.

"The Security Council continues to hold the military authorities and the illegal de facto regime individually and collectively responsible for the safety and security of the international presence in Haiti.

"The Security Council stresses that this latest action by the Haitian military and the illegal de facto regime further reinforces the continued determination of the Security Council to bring about a rapid and definitive solution to this crisis.

"The Security Council will remain actively seized of the matter."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1994/32.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3404

Security Council
Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3404th Meeting
Wednesday, 13 July 1994, 1 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Marker	(Pakistan)
Members:	Argentina	Mrs. Cañas
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Sporýš
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	France	Mr. Ladsous
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Nigeria	Mr. Gambari
	Oman	Mr. Al-Sameen
	Russian Federation	Mr. Sidorov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bizimana
	Spain	Mr. Yáñez-Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall
	United States of America	Mr. Inderfurth

Agenda

The situation in Liberia

Fifth progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (S/1994/760)

94-86022 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 1 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Liberia

Fifth progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (S/1994/760)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Liberia in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Bull (Liberia) took a place at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the fifth progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia, document S/1994/760.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council welcomes the report of the Secretary-General on Liberia dated 24 June 1994 (S/1994/760). On the basis of this report, as well as the oral briefing provided by the Secretary-General's Special Representative for Liberia, the Council has carried out a review of the situation in Liberia, including the role played by the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) as called for in resolution 911 (1994).

"In this context, the Council notes that, since the interim review in May 1994, there has been limited progress in the peace process and that the Liberian National Transitional Government (LNTG) has been unable to extend its authority effectively outside the Monrovia area. The Council notes further with concern that preparations for national elections have been hampered by the continued fighting and the consequent virtual halt of the disarmament process. It underscores that until the disarmament process is substantially accomplished the holding of free and fair elections will not be possible. It reiterates, nevertheless, the need to make urgent preparations to enable the timely holding of free and fair elections. To this end, a substantial acceleration of the disarmament process is essential. It notes that continued delay may have an adverse effect on international participation in the Liberian peace process.

"The Council therefore calls on the LNTG, in cooperation with the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Organization of African Unity, with the support of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and UNOMIL as necessary, to convene a meeting of the Liberian factions concerned to address the problems affecting disarmament. The Council considers that the objectives of such a meeting should be to agree on a realistic plan to resume disarmament and to set a target date for its completion. The Council calls on the LNTG to convene the meeting as soon as possible, at the latest by 31 July 1994. The Council stresses the importance it places on the Liberian factions concerned attending such a meeting.

"The Council further calls upon all factions in Liberia to demonstrate the resolve and commitment necessary to achieve national reconciliation.

"The Council expresses its concern about the increase in military activities being carried out in violation of the general cease-fire and the consequent large-scale displacement of persons and atrocities which have been committed throughout the country. The Council condemns all those who initiate fighting and who violate international humanitarian law.

"The Council strongly deplores attacks on and the abduction and harassment of United Nations and ECOWAS Cease-fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) personnel in Liberia, as well as looting

of United Nations and ECOMOG property. It demands that such hostile acts cease forthwith.

"The Council urges the Liberian parties to take all necessary measures to ensure the security and safety of UNOMIL and ECOMOG personnel, as well as of the personnel involved in relief operations, and strictly to abide by the applicable rules of international humanitarian law. It demands that all factions in Liberia extend full cooperation to organizations engaged in the delivery of humanitarian assistance.

"The Council commends the positive role of ECOWAS in its continued efforts to facilitate peace and security in Liberia, including through the provision of ECOMOG troops. It welcomes the continued close cooperation between ECOMOG and UNOMIL.

"The Council also commends other African States that have provided troops to ECOMOG and those Member States that have contributed to the trust fund established pursuant to paragraph 6 of resolution 866 (1993) or provided other assistance in support of the troops. However, the Council expresses its concern that sufficient financial and other support for the ECOMOG troops has not yet been forthcoming despite the importance of their continued presence in the Liberian peace process. The Council calls on all Member States urgently to consider providing financial or material support either through the United Nations trust fund or on a bilateral basis to enable ECOMOG to fulfil its responsibilities in accordance with the Cotonou Agreement.

"The Council commends the Secretary-General for the priority given to reporting on violations of international humanitarian law and other atrocities and encourages continued attention to these aspects of the situation in Liberia.

"The Council requests the Secretary-General to ensure that all information on cease-fire and arms embargo violations obtained by UNOMIL, in pursuit of its mandate, is made promptly available to the Security Council and publicized more widely as appropriate.

"The Council expresses concern at problems encountered by the LNTG in extending its authority outside the Monrovia area, and requests the Secretary-General to explore, in consultation with ECOWAS, whether there are any steps which might be taken to facilitate LNTG's efforts in this regard.

"The Council urges ECOWAS to continue its efforts to help the Liberian parties make substantial progress towards a political settlement in the country.

"The Council requests the Secretary-General to report on the situation in Liberia by 2 September 1994 and to consider in that report whether the meeting on disarmament has resulted in a realistic plan for disarmament and whether implementation of such a plan has begun. The report should also provide options for the size and mandate of UNOMIL that reflect the outcome of the meeting and the progress in implementing the disarmament plan.

"The Council will remain actively seized of the matter."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1994/33.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3405

Security Council

Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3405th Meeting

Thursday, 14 July 1994, 6.30 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Marker	(Pakistan)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cardenas
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Rovensky
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	France	Mr. Ladsous
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Nigeria	Mr. Gambari
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Sidorov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bizimana
	Spain	Mr. Yáñez-Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Wood
	United States of America	Mr. Inderfurth

Agenda

The situation concerning Rwanda

Letter dated 14 July 1994 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of France to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/823)

94-86058 (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 6.40 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning Rwanda

Letter dated 14 July 1994 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of France to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/823)

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in response to the request contained in a letter dated 14 July 1994 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of France to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, document S/1994/823.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council is alarmed by the continuation of fighting in Rwanda, which is causing a massive exodus of the population. This situation may lead very quickly to a further humanitarian disaster and endanger the stability of the region, since the flow of these refugees is seriously affecting the neighbouring countries.

"In the light of this grave situation, the Security Council:

"Demands an immediate and unconditional cease-fire and invites the parties to report to the ForceCommander of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR) on their actions in this respect;

"Urges the resumption of the political process in the framework of the Arusha Peace Agreement and calls upon the countries of the region, the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to contribute actively to it;

"Reaffirms the humanitarian nature of the secure area in the south-west of Rwanda and demands that all concerned fully respect this. It will keep the matter under close review;

"Urges also Member States, United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations to mobilize all available resources in order urgently to provide humanitarian assistance to the civilian population in distress;

"Calls upon Member States to provide the necessary contributions in order to ensure the deployment of the expanded UNAMIR in the immediate future.

"The Security Council is determined to follow very closely the development of the situation in Rwanda and remains actively seized of the matter".

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1994/34.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 6.45 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3406

Security Council
Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3406th Meeting
Tuesday, 19 July 1994, 11.45 a.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Marker	(Pakistan)
Members:	Argentina	Ms. Cañas
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Rovensky
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	France	Mr. Ladsous
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Nigeria	Mr. Gambari
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Vorontsov
	Rwanda	
	Spain	Mr. Yáñez-Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall
	United Stated of America	Mr. Gnehm

Agenda

The situation in Mozambique

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (S/1994/803)

94-86073 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 11.55 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Mozambique

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (S/1994/803)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Mozambique, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Afonso (Mozambique) took a place at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Mozambique, document S/1994/803.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1994/806, containing the text of a letter dated 7 July 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Mozambique to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council notes with appreciation the report of the Secretary-General of 7 July 1994 (S/1994/803) on the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ). It commends the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the personnel of ONUMOZ for their efforts in support of the implementation of the General Peace Agreement for Mozambique. They continue to have the full backing of the Council.

"The Security Council welcomes the significant progress made in the implementation of the General Peace Agreement, in particular in the electoral sphere, but remains concerned at continuing delays in the implementation of some major aspects of the Agreement. The Council is especially concerned at the delays which continue to occur in the demobilization of forces and in the formation of the new Mozambican Defence Force (FADM). In this context the Council reiterates its call in resolution 916 (1994) of 5 May 1994 to the parties to comply fully with all the provisions of the Agreement.

"It is essential that the demobilization of all forces is completed by 15 August 1994, as agreed by the parties, and that the difficulties of forming, before the elections, the FADM at the strength agreed in the General Peace Agreement are addressed quickly and with flexibility.

"The Council is encouraged by the recent announcement of the Mozambican Government's decision to turn over the assets, including equipment and facilities, of the Mozambique Armed Forces (FAM) to the FADM by 15 August 1994 and reiterates the importance of the Government providing all necessary support to the establishment of the FADM.

"The Council underlines the importance to the peace process of the rehabilitation of areas with a large returning population, including through an effective mine-clearance programme. In this regard it urges that high priority be given to mine clearance activities and related training.

"The Council, in its resolution 916 (1994), decided to renew the mandate of ONUMOZ for a final period until 15 November 1994 and welcomed the announcement by the President of the Republic of Mozambique that elections would take place on 27 and 28 October 1994. It reaffirms the importance it attaches to the elections taking place on these dates and stresses the need for additional decisive steps to that end. In this context, the Council stresses that there is no margin for further delay in demobilization and in the formation of the

FADM. The Council expects the parties to continue to cooperate with ONUMOZ and with each other to ensure full and timely implementation of the Agreement.

"The Council reiterates the importance of the extension of civil administration throughout Mozambique, which is essential for the holding of free and fair elections. In this context, it reaffirms its call to all parties, especially RENAMO, to allow unimpeded access to the areas under their control to all political forces in the country, in order to ensure free political activity throughout Mozambique.

"The Council expresses its intention to endorse the results of the elections provided the United Nations reports them as free and fair and reminds all the Mozambican parties of their obligation under the General Peace Agreement fully to respect the results.

"The Council will consider sending a mission, at an appropriate time, to Mozambique to discuss with the parties how best to ensure full and timely implementation of the General Peace Agreement and that the elections take place on the dates agreed and under the conditions set out in the Agreement.

"The Council will continue to monitor developments in Mozambique closely and requests the Secretary-General to ensure that it is kept informed on a regular basis."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1994/35.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 12.05 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3407

Security Council

Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3407th Meeting

Thursday, 21 July 1994, 4.30 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Marker	(Pakistan)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Ricardes
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Zhang Yan
	Czech Republic	Mr. Rovensky
	Djibouti	Mr. Dorani
	France	Mr. Ladsous
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Nigeria	Mr. Ayewah
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Vorontsov
	Rwanda	
	Spain	Mr. Yáñez-Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall
	United States of America	Ms. Albright

Agenda

The situation in Georgia

Report of the Secretary-General concerning the situation in Abkhazia, Georgia (S/1994/818 and Add.1)

94-86088 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 5 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Georgia

Report of the Secretary-General concerning the situation in Abkhazia, Georgia (S/1994/818 and Add.1)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Germany in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Henze (Germany) took a place at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General concerning the situation in Abkhazia, Georgia, contained in documents S/1994/818 and Add.1.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1994/857, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by France, Germany, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.

The first speaker is the representative of Germany. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Henze (Germany): It is a great pleasure for me to see you, Sir, presiding over the Security Council. Owing to your experience and leadership, the Council has been able to complete its work on the draft resolution before it in what we realize is a very short period of time.

As a member of the group of "Friends of Georgia", Germany has been closely involved in the discussions that have resulted in the draft resolution before the Security Council.

If much time has passed since the Council first established the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG) in August 1993, this has not been because of a lack of effort on the part of the Secretary-General or the Security Council. On the contrary, the Secretary-General and his Special Envoy have spared no effort towards achieving progress in the political negotiations and in the talks on a United Nations peace-keeping role. The Security Council, for its part, has played an active role. Over time, it has considered a number of different options. It has repeatedly stressed its willingness to take action.

Over the past months, there have also been intensive deliberations within the group of "Friends of Georgia". In considering the issues involved, Germany has maintained close contact with the Georgian Government. In addition, we have sought the views of other interested Member States and taken their ideas into account. It was clear from the outset that a decision by the Security Council on the situation in Abkhazia, Republic of Georgia, would likely have repercussions for deliberations in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). As a member State of both the United Nations and the CSCE, Germany felt that it was a matter of consistency to apply the same standards in both forums. We are grateful that this principle has been recognized in the draft resolution.

Germany, of course, fully supports the draft resolution before the Council today. Indeed, it has co-sponsored the draft resolution together with the other members of the Friends group.

The draft resolution reflects the important contribution of the Russian Federation in providing a peace-keeping force in Georgia. Germany welcomes the willingness of the Russian Federation to undertake this difficult task. The peace-keeping force has been established at the request of the parties. As the draft resolution notes, it will operate in accordance with the established principles and practices of the United Nations.

In its efforts to implement the 14 May Agreement, the peace-keeping force will cooperate closely with a significantly enlarged UNOMIG. According to all accounts, the experience in this regard has been entirely positive so far. It is in this spirit of cooperation that UNOMIG's observer role *vis-a-vis* the peace-keeping force must be seen. This role is itself a reflection of the trust that the Security Council is placing in the Russian Federation and the Commonwealth of Independent States.

In this context, I would like to note that six German soldiers are currently serving with UNOMIG. In response to a request of the Secretary-General, the Federal Government has recently decided to contribute additional personnel. Germany fully realizes that UNOMIG is operating under difficult conditions. We highly appreciate the performance of the soldiers and civilians participating in this mission.

In closing, let me underline the importance Germany attaches to an accelerated return of all refugees and displaced persons to their homes. This goal can be achieved fully only if both parties remain committed to a comprehensive and early settlement of the conflict based upon the principles set out in the Council's previous resolutions. We look forward to the Secretary-General's report in three months' time. The report will provide an opportunity for us all to assess the performance of this new joint deployment and to make adjustments, if necessary.

The President: I thank the representative of Germany for his kind words addressed to me.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mrs. Albright (United States of America): This draft resolution deals with a new and significant set of circumstances. For the first time, we have established a relationship between a United Nations observer mission and a peace-keeping force within a sovereign State of the former Soviet Union.

We have moved firmly, if cautiously, but above all positively. We have affirmed that the experience and concern of the United Nations and the efforts and energies of the Russian Federation and other members of the Commonwealth of Independent States which may take part in the peace-keeping operation should be focused on assisting in the maintenance of the cease-fire, in the safe return of the over 300,000 refugees to their homes, and in facilitating a political settlement between the peoples of Abkhazia and the rest of the Republic of Georgia.

We have reaffirmed the Council's commitment to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Georgia. We have reaffirmed the primacy of the principles of the United Nations and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

This draft resolution helps to advance these objectives and principles. It provides a detailed framework for the operation of the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG) and sets out the Council's expectations for UNOMIG's relationship to the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) peace-keeping force. It speaks forcefully about the ultimate political objective as well as the humanitarian principles that must accompany this objective.

It is demanding in its expectations of the performance of UNOMIG, of the peace-keeping forces and of the parties to the conflict. It is not a blank check. It has a six-month mandate, and renewal will be subject to Council review. It is hard-headed in its insistence on accurate information that can be provided only by a UNOMIG that is free to move, observe and report. But it also demonstrates the international community's willingness to assist in resolving the region's problems and allows for the possibility of more extensive United Nations involvement in the process in Georgia, should circumstances warrant.

The parties to the conflict have consented to, even called for, the assistance of the United Nations and of the peace-keeping force. Chairman Shevardnadze has written to President Clinton on this subject, urging him to support this peace-keeping effort in order to assist the repatriation process, prevent further bloodshed and help resolve the conflict. Our task - that of the Security Council and UNOMIG, of the Russian Federation and any other CIS members who may join the peace-keeping force - is to respond to that call so that future citizens of the Republic of Georgia can call this effort a success.

The President: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution in document S/1994/857.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 14 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted as resolution 937 (1994).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Ladsous (France) *(interpretation from French):* My delegation is particularly satisfied that our Council today was able to adopt resolution 937 (1994), which strengthens the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG) and expands its mandate. This resolution, which for the first time establishes cooperation between the United Nations and a regional stabilization operation in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), is of great importance.

The conditions for a classic United Nations mission not having been met, the troops of certain member countries of the CIS, at the request of the parties, had begun to deploy in the conflict zone, in implementation of the Agreement signed in Moscow on 14 May. It was therefore necessary to be able quickly to entrust a new mandate to UNOMIG, since, along with the deployment of a force, the parties also wished United Nations observers to be able to monitor implementation of the Agreement.

The conditions for deployment of the peace-keeping force of the member States of the CIS, the principal elements of the mandate of UNOMIG and the modalities for cooperation and coordination between UNOMIG and the force were the subject of discussions between the Secretariat, the parties and the Russian Federation. It is on the basis of the recommendations of the Secretary-General that resulted from these discussions, in particular with respect to the assurances concerning freedom of movement and security for UNOMIG, that we have adopted the resolution.

My delegation welcomes the fact that the Council has taken into account the specific nature and the innovative context of the peace-keeping operations of the CIS member States and of UNOMIG in the conflict zone. On the one hand, the intervention by a force of the CIS member States was indeed requested by the parties. On the other, a United Nations observer mission will be deployed, also at the request of the parties. The two operations, although separate, have the same goal: the implementation of the 14 May Agreement - that is, the maintenance of the cease-fire and the creation of conditions likely to facilitate the return of refugees and displaced persons. There was a need, therefore, to find a balance between the action of the peace-keeping force of the CIS member States - autonomous action - and that of a United Nations mission with a mandate from the Council.

In these circumstances, it was important to recall the essential nature of the relevant provisions of the Helsinki documents of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and of that organization's meeting, at the Ministerial level, in Rome. Those provisions lay down the framework for action by the peace-keeping force. It was also important to give UNOMIG the mandate to observe the action of the peace-keeping force of the CIS member States within the framework of the implementation of the Agreement of 14 May - a requirement that became legitimate once the United Nations was requested to participate in the implementation of the Agreement.

My delegation welcomes the fact that the Russian Federation has sought the support of the Council for a regional stabilization operation in the CIS and that this operation thus becomes a part of the process of a political settlement that is under the auspices of the United Nations. This is a positive development. It emphasizes the regulatory functions that the Security Council has now shouldered for peace-keeping activities carried out by Powers or by regional forums.

Mr. Ricardes (Argentina) *(interpretation from Spanish):* Argentina supports the measures recommended by the Secretary-General to modify the mandate and increase the number of staff serving on the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG). The situation existing since the signing of the Cease-fire and Separation of Forces Agreement on 14 May makes this measure advisable.

According to the approved mandate, United Nations observers will play a special role, that of monitoring the functioning of the Commonwealth of Independent States

(CIS) peace-keeping force deployed in Georgia with the consent of the parties.

Relations of coordination and cooperation between both forces must be defined henceforth. As is emphasized in the resolution, it is essential, in order to discharge the mission, that UNOMIG's freedom of movement be guaranteed.

We trust that the CIS peace-keeping force will conduct itself in accordance with the criteria that have been defined in our Organization for peace-keeping operations.

We find both useful and necessary the reports that the Russian Federation has provided the Security Council on the conduct of the CIS operation, which, of course, is in addition to the monitoring and verification functions assigned to UNOMIG.

Finally, we would like to emphasize that it is a matter of paramount importance that the parties in Georgia reach an agreement that respects the principle of sovereignty and territorial integrity and also ensures the return of refugees and displaced persons.

Mr. Vorontsov (Russian Federation) *(interpretation from Russian):* The Russian delegation believes that the resolution we have just adopted is an authoritative and balanced document. There is no doubt that it will play an important role in the multilevel efforts to promote a settlement to the Georgian-Abkhaz conflict.

Obviously, an important aspect of the resolution is the clearly expressed positive attitude of the Security Council to the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) peace-keeping operation, which has already begun, and to the efforts of the States of the Commonwealth aimed at stabilizing the situation in the region of the conflict and at ensuring a speedy solution to the problem of the refugees. We are grateful to the Security Council for the support it has expressed for the efforts of Russia and of the other countries of the CIS.

I should like to inform the Security Council concerning the situation regarding the deployment of the CIS peace-keeping operation in the zone of the Abkhaz conflict.

At present the CIS peace-keeping forces deployed in the 24-kilometre zone on both sides of the Inguri River include more than 1,600 Russian troops deployed, along with 300 units of armoured and other equipment.

The Russian peace-keepers are successfully carrying out their duties. Check-points and observer posts have been set up, and patrolling by mobile groups has been organized. In Sukhumi the Joint Command headquarters has begun operations.

Illegal military units are being disarmed, and considerable amounts of small arms and armoured equipment have been removed.

CIS military units are active in the demining of the area and transport routes are being restored.

Peace-keeping forces are starting to be deployed in the Kodori valley and agreement has been reached that heavy equipment of the Georgian side with either being withdrawn from this zone or be destroyed by Russian sapper engineers in the presence of United Nations observers.

Agreement on the participation of other CIS countries in the peace-keeping operation is being concluded.

The population greeted the Russian peace-keepers with jubilation and hope.

The CIS operation is already promoting the stabilization of the situation, which, in turn, augurs well for the well-organized and safe return of Georgian refugees to the Gali region in the near future.

The Russian Federation is satisfied with the Security Council's decision to expand significantly the mandate and increase the size of the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG). We believe that this confirmed mandate gives UNOMIG broad capabilities to effectively promote the stabilization of the situation in the region of the conflict.

The Russian Federation attaches particular significance to the provision concerning cooperation with the peace-keeping forces of the CIS.

As we have noted on numerous occasions, Russia and the other States of the CIS believe that the closest interaction between the peace-keeping forces of the Commonwealth and the United Nations Observer Mission is the most important condition for the successful attainment of their parallel objectives. We note that the Security Council and the Secretary-General are also in favour of this.

For our part, we reaffirm our readiness to use all means available to us to ensure the effectiveness and safety of UNOMIG's activities.

We take particular note of the Security Council's request to the Secretary-General to establish a voluntary fund for contributions in support of both the implementation of the Agreement on a Cease-fire and Separation of Forces and humanitarian aspects, as well as the appeal to Member States to contribute to that fund. Such a fund is extremely important, given the enormous expense entailed in the implementation of the Agreement, in demining and in the establishment of conditions for the return of refugees.

The Russian Federation attaches great significance to the resolution's provisions reflecting the intrinsic link between peace-keeping activities in the region of the conflict and efforts to achieve a comprehensive political settlement and a solution to the drastic problem of refugees and displaced persons. As we have repeatedly emphasized, the peace-keeping operation in Abkhazia is not a goal in itself but, rather, an indispensable condition for accelerating the process of a comprehensive political settlement to the crisis and finding a solution to the humanitarian problems it has spawned - above all, that of the refugees and displaced persons, who should have a dignified and safe return to their homes.

The Russian delegation assures the members of the Security Council that the Russian Federation, as the facilitator in the political negotiating process under the aegis of the United Nations and as a party to the Quadripartite Agreement on the voluntary return of the refugees, will continue to make every effort to find a speedy solution to all unresolved problems. In this regard, the Russian Federation attaches the highest priority to close cooperation with the United Nations and with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

Mr. Keating (New Zealand): New Zealand has supported this resolution, but not without some reservations. We voted in favour of it because the resolution ensures an expanded United Nations presence in Georgia. We believe that a United Nations presence is essential for the effective monitoring and verification of the Cease-fire Agreement, and we are pleased that the resolution expands both the mandate and the numbers of the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG).

However, as we all know, there is more to this resolution than the expansion of UNOMIG. The presence of two peace-keeping operations in one country makes it imperative that the relationship between those two forces be clearly set out and well understood by all involved at all levels. There are a number of elements which - past experience with United Nations peace-keeping operations suggests - need to be addressed in such a situation. The resolution we have adopted does that.

The first element is consistency between the concept of operations of the two forces. In this case, both operations are in Georgia with the consent of the parties, and their mandates are complementary, so there is an acceptable level of consistency.

Secondly, there is the question of conformity with peace-keeping principles. The resolution welcomes the fact that the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) force will act in accordance with the established principles and practices of the United Nations. These include, of course, those relating to peace-keeping, and it is worth recalling that the Security Council itself has approved a number of operational principles for peace-keeping, many of which would be applicable to non-United Nations forces which might be involved in peace-keeping. But I do have to say that we find this aspect of the resolution much less than satisfactory.

Thirdly, there is a need for satisfactory arrangements for interaction between the forces. The Secretary-General has indicated that, following the adoption of this resolution, he will write to the President of the Council of the CIS defining the respective roles and responsibilities of the two forces. The resolution requests him to establish an appropriate arrangement to this effect.

Fourthly, we have the question of communication. The Secretary-General's report sets out four levels of communication, from force headquarters to patrols, all of which need to be in good working order at all times. The resolution requests the respective commanders to conclude and implement these arrangements for coordination and cooperation. This is a very important task, as relevant at the bottom of the chain of command as it is at the top.

These various elements will help the interaction between the two forces and diminish the risk that the problems which have affected earlier peace-keeping operations in which a national or multinational contingent has sat alongside a United Nations force will be repeated. But that risk remains, and all involved must be particularly vigilant.

My delegation welcomes the fact that the mandate of UNOMIG has now been extended for a full six months, which we believe is the minimum period of time for which it is reasonable to assign new tasks to a peace-keeping operation and expect them to be fulfilled. We are also pleased that the mandate of the expanded force is set out with clarity and precision in the resolution. It is important for all peace-keeping operations, given the political climate in which they necessarily operate, that the parties to a conflict are in no doubt as to what the United Nations operation is doing and what it is not doing.

The resolution refers to the assurances of freedom of movement given to the Mission by the parties. This is a fundamental ingredient in any peace-keeping mission operating, as UNOMIG does, with the consent of the parties. The honouring of these assurances is one of the means by which the United Nations will judge the commitment of the parties to a political settlement of the conflict.

My delegation also attaches importance to the provision of this resolution that UNOMIG's new mandate will include the task of observing the operation of the CIS peace-keeping force within the framework of the implementation of the cease-fire agreement.

The political and military situation in Georgia is now more stable, owing in large part to the political involvement of a number of external bodies that have committed themselves to assisting the parties to find a peaceful solution to the conflict: the United Nations, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), the CIS and the Russian Federation. We urge these parties to keep up the momentum of these negotiations. It is therefore pleasing that the cease-fire agreed upon by the parties on 14 May has held. But a political settlement cannot be attained until refugees and displaced persons are able to return to their homes. The Quadripartite Agreement of 4 April sets out the basis on which that can occur, and we urge the parties to realize that objective as quickly as possible. One of the tasks of the expanded UNOMIG is to contribute by its presence in the area to conditions conducive to the safe and orderly return of those who have had to leave their homes.

Finally, a few words about our reservations regarding this resolution: our reservations stem from the fact that this resolution acknowledges the reality that the United Nations is not alone in Georgia monitoring the cease-fire agreement. Also in the field is the CIS force. My delegation does not believe that it is a good precedent for a neighbouring State to play such a predominant role in such a force. We believe that any operation which calls itself a peace-keeping force should be conducted strictly in accordance with United Nations peace-keeping principles. If it does not accept in a transparent way such an operational framework, then it is appropriate for the international community to proceed with caution.

For these reasons, my delegation does not agree that this operation sets a good precedent. To the contrary, we believe it is a precedent about which the international community should take care in the future.

Mr. Sardenberg (Brazil): As this is the first time my delegation has spoken in a formal meeting this month, I wish to extend our congratulations to you, Sir, upon your assumption of the presidency. Your professional and personal qualities are very well known to all of us, and are a warranty that the proceedings of the Council this month will be conducted in a most efficient and congenial atmosphere.

A word of gratitude is also in order for Ambassador Al-Khussaiby of Oman for the most proficient way in which he conducted our work during the hectic month of June.

The situation in Abkhazia, Republic of Georgia, has gradually evolved in a more positive direction, and has demonstrated once again that a political solution acceptable to all parties to a conflict can be achieved through dialogue and negotiation. The agreement on a cease-fire and separation of forces signed in Moscow on 14 May last is, in this respect, a welcome development.

My delegation praises the roles played by the Russian Federation as facilitator of the process and by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Ambassador Edouard Brunner, in the search for a peaceful and lasting solution to the problem.

While we are today considering the specific situation in Abkhazia, Republic of Georgia, we cannot lose sight of the broader issue concerning the future of peace-keeping operations, in particular with regard to the question of the role to be played by regional arrangements and by individual countries with a direct interest in a given crisis. Resolution 937 (1994), which we have just adopted, represents an important departure from the original mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG), as it envisages a United Nations operation acting in parallel with, and observing, the operation of another entity. We recognize that the deployment of the peace-keeping force of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) is predicated upon the request and consent of the parties to the conflict. We welcome the wish of the parties to have the United Nations continue to be actively involved in the pursuit of a political settlement. Operationally, it is crucial that they remain committed to according full freedom of movement to UNOMIG in the performance of its mandate.

We are aware of the complexities of this issue and seek to avoid situations that might put in jeopardy the very concept of a multilateral peace-keeping force. The particular configuration of two concomitant operations contemplated in the present resolution has received our support on the clear understanding that the CIS peace-keeping force will operate in accordance with the relevant established principles and practices of the United Nations in the field of peace-keeping operations, in particular: respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity; impartiality; commitment of the parties to a comprehensive political settlement; and a clearly defined mandate, concept of operations and winding-up process.

While my delegation believes that this innovative combination of a United Nations and a CIS operation may prove a useful tool for the definitive settlement of the situation in Abkhazia, Republic of Georgia, we also believe that the United Nations should ultimately continue to play a fundamental role in this and other situations in ensuring multilateral support for the peaceful settlement of conflicts.

The President: I thank the representative of Brazil for the kind words he addressed to my predecessor and myself.

Mr. Rovensky (Czech Republic): The draft resolution on Abkhazia, Georgia, which has just been adopted by the Security Council is, in the view of my delegation, one of the most important documents adopted by the Council in recent weeks. The importance of this resolution lies in several of its key provisions, as well as in its implications. The resolution reaffirms the Security Council's commitment to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Georgia and the right of all refugees and displaced persons to return to their homes in secure conditions.

The safe, early and voluntary return of refugees and displaced persons is a very difficult but crucial task. We hope that the period needed to process the registration of those willing to return will be shortened, and that more people will be able to return to their homes soon. Such a development could, in our view, have a positive influence on the solution of the sensitive problem of the spontaneous return of refugees.

The resolution calls upon the parties concerned to intensify their efforts to achieve an early and comprehensive political settlement of the conflict under the auspices of the United Nations with the assistance of the Russian Federation as facilitator and with the participation of representatives of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

The resolution sets out in clear language the mandate of the expanded United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG). It also properly addresses the crucial aspect of the mechanisms of cooperation and coordination between UNOMIG and the peace-keeping force of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).

My delegation believes that only the full implementation of UNOMIG's mandate will create favourable conditions for the effective fulfillment of peace-keeping activities in Georgia. The establishment of the highest possible level of cooperation, interaction and coordination between UNOMIG and the CIS peace-keeping force is therefore of paramount importance. In this respect, we note with satisfaction the assurances given by the parties to the conflict and by the representatives of the CIS peace-keeping force with regard to the full freedom of movement of UNOMIG in the performance of its mandate.

We also note and welcome the readiness of the Russian Federation to continue to inform the Security Council on the CIS peace-keeping activities.

My delegation would welcome it if other CIS States, besides the Russian Federation, could as soon as possible contribute their troops to the peace-keeping operation in

Abkhazia, Georgia. While keeping in mind the merit of this operation, my delegation nevertheless deems it important that the Security Council should leave the door open for consideration at an appropriate point of the establishment of a United Nations peace-keeping operation.

The resolution that the Council has just adopted clearly spells out that one of the prime responsibilities of UNOMIG, besides monitoring and verifying the implementation of the Moscow Agreement on a Cease-fire and Separation of Forces, is to observe the operation of the CIS peace-keeping force within the framework of the implementation of the Agreement. The observation of the CIS mission by UNOMIG has been an issue of great concern and importance to my delegation throughout the Council's deliberations on Abkhazia, Georgia. We shall therefore follow UNOMIG's reports on this issue with particular interest.

My delegation would like to stress that by adopting today's resolution the Security Council has entered uncharted waters. For the first time we are faced with a situation in which a State with openly declared national interests in the region is undertaking a peace-keeping operation in a neighbouring country. After this first case may come other cases. Let me therefore repeat what my delegation has said before: no two peace-keeping operations are identical; each has its unique settings and features. Therefore, we do not regard today's resolution as one that would set a precedent.

It is important to note that the CIS peace-keeping operation is taking place on the territory of one of the member States of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). Even the operation itself is being conducted by CSCE member States. The CSCE is currently actively considering the criteria for its peace-keeping activities on the territory of its member States. That is why we strongly advocate that the CIS peace-keeping operation should be guided by the principles reflected in the decisions of the CSCE Council meeting held in Rome on 30 November and 1 December 1993, a document signed by all CSCE members.

Let me conclude by stating that in my delegation's view the general thrust of the resolution we have just adopted is positive and that its provisions, if implemented properly, should contribute positively to the efforts to achieve a just and comprehensive political settlement in Abkhazia, Georgia.

Mr. Gomersall (United Kingdom): As a member of the group of Friends of the Secretary-General for Georgia, my Government welcomes and attaches great importance to this resolution.

In many ways the resolution and the arrangements set out in it break new ground. This approach comes against the background of increasing demands on United Nations peace-keeping capabilities, demands that threaten to outstrip supply. It represents a response to a situation of grave concern to us all, but in which the conditions allowing for the deployment of a United Nations peace-keeping operation do not, at present, exist. The terms of this resolution reflect the importance which we all attach to various standards on the basis of which international peace-keeping efforts should take place. My delegation warmly welcomes the recognition in the resolution of the relevance in this respect of the Rome 1993 CSCE ministerial decisions on such principles. My Government therefore has no hesitation in welcoming the contribution made by the Russian Federation and other Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) members towards the CIS peace-keeping force.

The situation on the ground at present is relatively calm, thanks in large part to the efforts of that force. With their assistance, the withdrawal of troops of the parties and of their heavy military equipment is going ahead. We call on both parties fully to observe the arrangements on a cease-fire and separation of forces which they agreed to in Moscow on 14 May this year. This is essential if the progress so far achieved is not to be jeopardized.

This resolution mandates the expanded United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG) to work alongside the CIS peace-keeping force and elsewhere in the region, principally to promote the implementation of the 14 May cease-fire Agreement and the monitoring of the withdrawal of troops and heavy weapons of the parties, and to help to resolve difficulties as they arise. This is no small task. My Government greatly values the cooperation that has already been established on the ground between UNOMIG and the CIS force; this will be central for the success of all our efforts to restore peace to the region. We are prepared actively to support this, and my Government is ready to respond to the Secretary-General's request to contribute up to 10 military observers for UNOMIG as required.

Just as important as the efforts of UNOMIG and the CIS peace-keeping force is the search for a comprehensive political settlement. My Government fully supports the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Envoy. We call on all sides to increase their efforts to reach a political settlement respecting fully the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Georgia as well as ensuring the interests of all the multi-ethnic communities of Abkhazia. At the same time, valuable work is being done by the CSCE to facilitate a solution to problems elsewhere in Georgia. We warmly welcome the closer cooperation between the United Nations and the CSCE in this respect.

An essential part of the work of UNOMIG and the CIS peace-keeping force is promoting the conditions which would allow for the return of refugees. We pay tribute to the efforts of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), and we urge the parties to cooperate fully and unconditionally with UNHCR to allow the orderly return of refugees to proceed speedily.

We are also deeply concerned at the humanitarian situation in the region. My Government has already contributed over $4.5 million to the various United Nations, bilateral and non-governmental humanitarian organizations and supports the provisions in the resolution for a voluntary fund.

In conclusion, we are encouraged by the way in which the operation has begun, in an open and cooperative relationship with UNOMIG. We do not want to see the United Nations involved in monitoring semi-permanent green lines. As with all peace-keeping operations, we hope that this one will achieve its objectives and be able to be terminated speedily, in political conditions which will allow the people of the region to continue their lives in peace and security.

Mr. Yáñez-Barnuevo (Spain) *(interpretation from Spanish):* With the adoption of resolution 937 (1994), the Security Council is breaking new ground in dealing with the conflict in Abkhazia, Republic of Georgia, and in the methods of carrying out peace-keeping operations. In accordance with a request by the parties and the Secretary-General's recommendation, observers belonging to the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG), whose strength the Council has decided to increase and whose mandate has been enlarged, will from now on work in close cooperation with the peace-keeping force of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).

The first elements of that force have begun to be deployed in the field, and they are achieving satisfactory results, as can be seen from the Secretary-General's report of 12 July and from information provided by the Russian Federation. We are sure that this will make it possible for the security zone established in the area of conflict to be free of troops and heavy military equipment of both parties to the conflict, thereby restoring the necessary atmosphere of peace.

This atmosphere of peace is necessary for the return of refugees and displaced persons to their homes in secure conditions, without which it would be difficult to establish the necessary framework for a lasting reconciliation.

My delegation is gratified to note the progress that has been made by Quadripartite Commission, as well as the preparations that are under way to facilitate the voluntary return home of refugees and displaced persons with the assistance of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

We hope that the presence of the new United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG) personnel, together with that of the peace-keeping forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) will give a decisive impetus to this process, in accordance with the mandate just adopted by this Council.

In order properly to discharge this new mandate, UNOMIG will require the full cooperation of the parties, which have already given guarantees that they will give it the necessary protection. They have also promised to allow UNOMIG the freedom of movement it requests both within the security zone and in the rest of the territory of the Republic of Georgia where its presence is required.

I would like to note that my delegation understands this freedom of movement to include freedom of access to all areas which UNOMIG considers it necessary to enter in order properly to discharge its mandate.

There must also be full cooperation between UNOMIG and the CIS peace-keeping force in the discharge of their respective mandates, functions and duties. This would be facilitated by the speedy conclusion of the agreements and arrangements mentioned in the resolution we have just adopted.

It is also highly important that due account be taken throughout the highly complex operation of the principles and criteria applicable to peace-keeping operations, both defined within the context of the United Nations, with which we are all familiar, and those that are being defined within the sphere of the Council on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). I am referring in particular to the principles contained in the documents adopted by the Helsinki Summit of 1992 and the Ministerial Meeting in Rome of 30 November to 1 December 1993, specifically those of respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, the consent of parties, impartiality, multinational characteristics, transparency, a clear mandate, a connection with a political process to solve the conflict and a plan for an orderly withdrawal.

The situation on the ground has improved and will surely continue to do so with the arrival of the new UNOMIG personnel and the full deployment of the CIS peace-keeping force. This new atmosphere should make it possible for the negotiations being conducted under the sponsorship of the United Nations, with the Russian Federation as facilitator and the participation of representatives of the CSCE, to make progress towards a final, comprehensive political solution to the problem on the basis of the principles contained in the United Nations Charter and the relevant Security Council resolutions, in particular the principle of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Georgia.

In this connection, I should like to highlight the important role that the CSCE can play in the search for a solution to the constitutional problems and those relating to human rights, as well as the contribution it can make to the progress and eventual success of the negotiations. My delegation hopes that the negotiating meeting scheduled for August will yield the desired results and that the peace process will be consolidated, for although it is still fragile, its prospects are encouraging.

Mr. Al-Khussaiby (Oman): At the outset, allow me to express to you, Sir, and to your friendly country our sincere congratulations on your assumption of the high-level position of President of the Security Council. We are confident that through your well-known diplomatic skills and competence you will steer the work of this Council in an exemplary manner.

With regard to the situation in Abkhazia, Republic of Georgia, my delegation would like to thank the Secretary-General for his reports, and would like to welcome the Agreement on a Cease-fire and Separation of Forces signed in Moscow on 14 May 1994. The implementation of this Agreement is currently taking place under the supervision of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) peace-keeping force. We would also like to welcome the Quadripartite Agreement between the two parties, reached through the assistance of the United Nations and the Russian Federation in Moscow on 4 April 1994, which will guarantee the safe return of refugees and displaced persons to their homes in Abkhazia under orderly and secure conditions.

The Sultanate of Oman considers these types of agreements quite significant for their help in creating an environment that will be conducive to bringing the two parties to the conflict - the Georgians and the Abkhazians - much closer to a peaceful settlement.

My delegation attaches great importance to the need for the United Nations to take an active role in Abkhazia, particularly given the desire expressed by both sides to involve the United Nations in the overall settlement of the conflict.

My delegation therefore supported the extension of UNOMIG's mandate for an additional period of six months which will expire on 13 January 1995, as well as the proposed increase in the strength of UNOMIG in accordance with the new mandate entrusted to it as recommended by the Secretary-General in his report of 12 July 1994. This mandate includes, among other things, the monitoring of the work of the CIS peace-keeping force in the practical implementation of the Agreement on a Cease-fire and Separation of Forces of 14 May 1994.

My delegation believes that the presence of UNOMIG and its role in Abkhazia is quite essential and we view it as complementary to that of the CIS force. We are quite confident that all parties concerned will cooperate fully with UNOMIG in accordance with the agreed principles and guidelines that guarantee unimpeded freedom of movement for its personnel in the discharge their duties and functions.

Since we believe that regional groups and organizations can play a positive role in addressing regional issues, my delegation appreciates the vital role taken by the CIS in resolving the Georgia-Abkhazia conflict in its capacity as the pertinent regional organization concerned.

We also support the important conciliatory role of UNOMIG, which is consistent with the noble objectives enshrined in the United Nations Charter. My delegation has thus voted in favour of the resolution just adopted.

The President: I thank the representative of Oman for his statement and for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Ayewah (Nigeria): Permit me to convey to you, Sir, the compliments of the Nigerian delegation as you preside over the affairs of the Council during the month of July. You have already displayed your wealth of experience and enormous diplomatic skill in handling some of the delicate issues that have engaged the Council's attention. By the same token, my delegation would like to express its thanks to your predecessor in office, Ambassador Al-Khussaiby of Oman, for the excellent manner in which he conducted the affairs of the Council during the month of June.

My delegation would also like to thank the Secretary-General for his useful reports on the situation in Abkhazia, Republic of Georgia, which formed the basis of Council's deliberations on the resolution we have just adopted.

My delegation remains concerned about the general security and political situation in Abkhazia, Republic of Georgia, in spite of the relative calm that has prevailed in the area of conflict for some time now. While we are encouraged by the Quadripartite Agreement on the voluntary return of refugees and displaced persons signed in Moscow in April 1994, as well as the Agreement on a Cease-fire and Separation of Forces signed on 14 May 1994, we are conscious of the fact that only serious political negotiations leading to a final settlement hold the key to peace in the area.

Since listening to the address of the President of Georgia, Edouard Shevardnadze, on 9 March 1994, my Government has supported his plea for a full-fledged United Nations peace-keeping operation to be deployed in the area of conflict. We are not convinced by the argument that an agreement on a comprehensive political settlement of the conflict should be the condition for the deployment of such a force.

In the prevailing situation, we welcome the decision of the members of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) to heed the appeal of both parties and deploy its collective peace-keeping force within the zone of the Georgian-Abkhaz conflict. We also welcome the quick response of the Russian Federation in deploying a contingent to the area. We are happy to note that the arrival of this force has already improved the situation on the ground. We hope that other member States of the Commonwealth of Independent States will soon contribute to the force so as to guarantee its multinational character.

The resolution we have just adopted has been described as ground-breaking. My delegation does not see it in that light. It is perhaps innovative in terms of language and drafting, but certainly not ground-breaking in terms of concept. With the demands for United Nations collective peace-keeping outstripping its ability and resources, it has already become clear and imperative that regional organizations and/or arrangements must step in. In all modesty, we in the West African subregion can claim to have already blazed that trail with the arrangement in Liberia of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), which was later complemented by the United Nations through its Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL). We view the current resolution as a further development and refinement of a variant of that concept. We cannot but advert to the desirability of promoting cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations in the maintenance of regional peace and security.

We are satisfied at the outcome of the consultations that have so far taken place between the Secretary-General and the parties to the conflict, as well as representatives of the Russian Federation and those of the CIS, in order to reach a clear understanding on the relationship between the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG) in its expanded form and forces of the CIS. We agree with the recommendation of the Secretary-General concerning the size of an expanded UNOMIG and its tasks, as described by him in paragraph 5 of his report, as well as the duration of the mandate.

In spite of the extensive discussions that have taken place on the aspects of cooperation and coordination between UNOMIG and the CIS peace-keeping force, there is a need to ensure that such cooperation and coordination exists on the ground. In this regard, we welcome the assurances given by the parties and the members of the Commonwealth of Independent States as well as the intention of the Secretary-General further to clarify this matter of cooperation and coordination by writing to the Chairman in Council of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

The problem of over a quarter of a million refugees and displaced persons, victims of the conflict in Abkhazia, is at the heart of the conflict, and its resolution will be crucial to a final political settlement. My delegation has already expressed its concern on this subject. In this context, we welcome the Quadripartite Agreement of April on the voluntary return of refugees to their homes in secure conditions. Coming from a continent where the problem of refugees is acute, and growing, we cannot but be concerned by the plight of about a quarter of a million people who have had to endure harsh weather conditions on hills and mountains for over nine months now. We urge all parties to honour their agreement to allow the return of the refugees to their homes and call on them to continue to respect the cease-fire Agreement, a necessary condition for an early return of refugees. In this connection, we cannot but commend the efforts of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). We appeal to States to assist that agency with generous contributions.

Finally, my delegation would like to appeal to the parties to heed our call in operative paragraph 2 of this resolution to intensify their efforts towards the achievement of an early and comprehensive political settlement. This is the only guarantee of lasting peace and stability. As noted in the preambular part of this resolution, the Council has not ruled out the option of the deployment of a full-fledged United Nations peace-keeping operation once a final political settlement is achieved.

My delegation would like to thank the personnel of UNOMIG for their exemplary work, and we call on the parties to extend full support and the necessary protection to UNOMIG in carrying out its mandate, and to respect its neutral character.

On the basis of the foregoing considerations, my delegation voted in favour of the resolution. We hope that this will contribute to the creation of a favourable climate not only for the return of the refugees but, more importantly in the end, for the achievement of a political settlement.

The President: I thank the representative of Nigeria for the kind words he addressed to my predecessor and to me.

I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of Pakistan.

My delegation voted in favour of the resolution just adopted by the Security Council on the situation in Abkhazia, Georgia, primarily because it extends and expands the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG), which we fully support. We believe that an expanded UNOMIG will be an important instrument for ensuring peace and stability in the area and should contribute to the early and voluntary return of refugees and displaced persons.

My delegation appreciates the efforts of the member States of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) in establishing and deploying a peace-keeping force in Georgia. However, we would have preferred that such a peace-keeping operation be organized by the United Nations and that it be under United Nations command.

Pakistan is concerned over an emerging tendency to attribute peace-keeping roles to the countries of the region, or those closest to the conflict, especially when such countries have direct political interests in the area of the conflict. The States Members of the United Nations should in no way abrogate their Charter responsibilities in such a manner.

My delegation is aware of the present financial difficulties faced by the United Nations, particularly in relation to its peace-keeping operations. These constraints, however, should not be allowed to impinge upon the obligations of the United Nations to uphold peace and security around the world. It is our common responsibility not to allow any erosion of the system of collective security as envisaged in the United Nations Charter.

My delegation does not favour the practice of post-facto endorsement by the Security Council of a regional peace-keeping operation which is outside the purview of the United Nations. In this context, we have some reservations on the existing formulation of operative paragraphs 3 and 4 of the resolution just adopted.

My delegation hopes that the composition of the CIS peace-keeping force will soon be diversified by troop contributions from other member States of the CIS and that this force will act strictly in accordance with the established peace-keeping principles and practices of the United Nations.

We express the hope that the CIS will continue to report to the Security Council, on a regular basis, on the activities of its peace-keeping force in Georgia.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

There are no further names on the list of speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3408

Security Council

Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3408th Meeting

Wednesday, 27 July 1994, 3.30 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Marker	(Pakistan)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Ricardes
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Rovensky
	Djibouti	Mr. Dorani
	France	Mr. Ladsous
	New Zealand	Ms. Bilkey
	Nigeria	Mr. Gambari
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Vorontsov
	Rwanda	
	Spain	Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Wood
	United States of America	Mr. Rubin

Agenda

An agenda for peace: preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping
Report of the Secretary-General on stand-by arrangements for peace-keeping (S/1994/777)

94-86116 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 3.50 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

An agenda for peace: preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping

Report of the Secretary-General on stand-by arrangements for peace-keeping (S/1994/777)

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on stand-by arrangements for peace-keeping, contained in document S/1994/777.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council has considered the report of the Secretary-General of 30 June 1994 concerning stand-by arrangements for peace-keeping (S/1994/777), submitted pursuant to the statement by the President of the Council of 3 May 1994 (S/PRST/1994/22).

"The Security Council reiterates the importance it attaches to improving the capacity of the United Nations for rapid deployment and reinforcement of peace-keeping operations. The recent history of United Nations peace-keeping operations demonstrates that such an effort is essential.

"In this context, the Security Council is grateful for the efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General in respect of stand-by arrangements and welcomes the responses so far received from Member States. It also welcomes the intention of the Secretary-General to maintain a comprehensive database of the offers made, including the technical details of these offers.

"The Security Council notes that one of the major limiting factors in the timely deployment of troops for United Nations peace-keeping is the lack of readily available equipment. It stresses the importance of urgently addressing the issue of availability of equipment both in the context of stand-by arrangements and more broadly.

"The Security Council notes the Secretary-General's view that the commitments made so far do not yet cover adequately the spectrum of resources required to mount and execute future peace-keeping operations. It also notes that additional commitments are expected from other Member States. In this context, it welcomes the Secretary-General's call to those Member States which are not already doing so to participate in the arrangements.

"The Security Council looks forward to a further and more comprehensive report on the progress of the stand-by arrangements initiative."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1994/36.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 3.55 p.m.